Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 07481 01 OF 02 261328Z

40
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04

L-03 NSC-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SAJ-01 SAM-01 EB-07 SCCT-01 CIEP-01

OMB-01 COME-00 TRSE-00 /048 W
---------- 019916
O R 261215Z OCT 75
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3414
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 7481

E.0. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR MEETS WITH PSOE LEADER FELIPE GONZALEZ

SUMMARY: FELIPE GONZALEZ, LEADER OF SPAIN'S BY FAR MOST IMPORTANT SOCIALIST GROUPING, SAYS PSOE IS WILLING TO GIVE JUAN CARLOS A CHANCE TO MOVE SPAIN TOWARD DEMOCRACY. COMMUNISTS WOULD NOT CAUSE TROUBLE INITIALLY EITHER, THROUGH THEIR IDEA FOR PROGRAMMATIC UNION OF THE LEFT WOULD NOT COME TO PASS. SOCIALISTS WOULD PREFER JUAN CARLOS CHOOSE AS PRIME MINISTER A LIBERAL MILITARY MAN WITH CLOUT AND MAKE A QTE RUPTURE UNQTE WITH THE PAST IMMEDIATELY. BUT THEY EXPECT JUAN CARLOS - UNDER ESTABLISHMENT PRESSURES - WILL OPT FOR AN EFFORT AT TIGHTLY CONTROLLED EVOLUTION TOWARD DEMOCRACY POSING THE RISK THAT AT THE MOMENT OF TRUTH JUAN CARLOS WILL HAVE DRAWN DOWN MUCH OF HIS INITIAL POLITICAL CREDIT. GONZALEZ BELIEVED MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT WOULD ACCEPT AND, INDEED, MOST OF THE OFFICER CORPS UNDER 45 FAVORED, DEMOCRATIZATION. NEW REGIME MIGHT BE ABLE TO ASSUAGE BASQUE SENTIMENTS, BUT TERRORISTS - PARTICULARLY THE FRAP - WILL PROBABLY SEEK TO PUSH JUAN CARLOS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 07481 01 OF 02 261328Z

IN A CORNER BY FURTHER ASSASSINATIONS. END SUMMARY

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

1. DURING LUNCH AT RESIDENCE OCTOBER 25, FELIPE GONZALEZ, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE QUOTE ILLEGAL UNQUOTE PSOE, THE MOST IMPORTANT SOCIALIST GROUP IN SPAIN, STRESSED TO AMBASSADOR THAT THE PSOE WAS WILLING TO GIVE JUAN CARLOS A CHANCE TO MOVE THE COUNTRY TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. HE THOUGHT THAT MOST OTHER QUOTE ILLEGAL UNQUOTE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION GROUPS WOULD ALSO ADOPT A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE AND NOT CAUSE PROBLEMS. COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE) HAD MUCH SAME ATTITUDE, ALTHOUGH ITS LEADER SANTIAGO CARRILLO WAS MAKING CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS ALMOST EVERY DAY. GONZALEZ CONFIRMED HE HAD CHANNELS TO THE PRINCE AND THAT THE PRINCE FULLY KNEW HIS OPINIONS. (IN FACT, MOTRICO AND GONZALEZ LUNCHED TOGETHER LAST THURSDAY.) HOWEVER, HE SAID, HE THOUGHT THE PRINCE DID NOT HAVE ANY PARTICULARLY WELL FORMED POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND WAS, UNFORTUNATELY, MOST IN CONTACT WITH ELEMENTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DID NOT REALLY KNOW MODERN SPAIN.

2. HE THOUGHT THE PRINCE FACED THREE OPTIONS:

A) A STATUS QUO POLICY -- FRANQUISMO WITHOUT FRANCO.

B) A POLICY OF TIGHTLY-CONTROLLED EVOLUTION AIMED AT EVENTUALLY PRODUCING DEMOCRACY, OR

C) A POLICY OF BREAKING WITH THE FRANCO PAST AND IMMEDIATELY AND VIGOROUSLY PUSHING SPAIN TOWARD A DEMOCRACY.

3. GONZALEZ HAD INDICATIONS JUAN CARLOS WAS GOING TO TRY TO PURSUE SECOND OPTION, I.E., A POLICY OF CONTROLLED LIBERALIZATION. HE SAID PSOE, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD NOT OBSTRUCT THIS PROCESS, BELIEVES THIS MAY PROVE TO BE A RATHER UNSTABLE OPTION AND ONE WITH GREATEST CHANCE OF BEING DISRUPTED BY STILL STRONG FORCES OF ULTRA-RIGHT.
THE PSOE OBVIOUSLY PREFERS AN IMMEDIATE BREAK -- A QUOTE RUPTURE UNQUOTE UNDER THE MONARCHY, BUT EXPECTS THE ESTABLISHMENT WILL OPT FOR CONTROLLED EVOLUTION.

4. GONZALEZ SAID JUAN CARLOS WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 07481 01 OF 02 261328Z

CHOOSE A MILITARY MAN AS PRIME MINISTER, BECAUSE A MILITARY MAN WOULD HAVE SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY TO ENABLE PRINCE TO CARRY OUT HIS DEMOCRATIZATION PROGRAM. WHEN ASKED, HE SUGGESTED NAME OF GEN. GUTIERREZ MELLADO (GOVERNOR OF CEUTA AND CHIEF MILITARY NEGOTIATOR IN US/SPAIN NEGOTIATIONS WHOM WE HAVE HEARD MENTIONED AS A POSSBILE VICE PREMIER UNDER A CIVILIAN PRIME MINISTER) AS AN EXAMPLE OF A SOMEWHAT POL-ITICALLY NEUTRAL GENERAL WHO WOULD COMMAND THE RESPECT OF THE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

ARMED FORCES, THE PRINCE, AND WOULD BE VIEWED CAUTIOUSLY BUT SOMEWHAT FAVORABLY BY THE OPPOSITION. HE ASSERTED SPANISH MILITARY ARE LARGELY IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF SPAIN, PARTICULARLY THOSE OFFICERS UNDER 45 YEARS OF AGE.

5. GONZALEZ SAID HE FELT CONFIDENT THAT SOON AFTER PRINCE IS DESIGNATED KING, DON JUAN WILL IN SOME MANNER FORMALLY ABDICATE HIS CLAIM TO THE THRONE AND THERBY ELIMINATE ANY POSSIBLE DYNASTIC CONFUSION. HE SAID PRINCE'S MOST IMPORTANT INITIAL ACTION WOULD BE HIS FIRST PUBLIC ADDRESS TO NATION, AND IT WOULD BE MOST IMPORTANT FOR PRINCE TO LAY OUT SOMEWHAT FORCEFULLY IN THAT ADDRESS HIS PLANS TO MOVE SPAIN TOWARDS DEMOCRATIZATION. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT PRINCE WOULD GAIN MUCH POPULAR FAVOR IF PURELY POLITICAL PRISONERS (NOT TERRORISTS) SHOULD BE RELEASED FROM JAIL IN EARLY DAYS OF NEW REIGN. IF HE FAILS, HIS POLITICAL CREDIT WILL HAVE DIMINISHED AND IT WILL BE MUCH HARDER TO BRING IT OFF LATER.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 07481 02 OF 02 261345Z

43
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04

L-03 NSC-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SAJ-01 SAM-01 EB-07 SCCT-01 CIEP-01

OMB-01 COME-00 TRSE-00 /048 W
---------- 019990
O R 261215Z OCT 75
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3415
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 7481

6. GONZALEZ SAID PSOE BELIEVES PRINCE SOONER OR LATER WILL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE IF HE WANTS TO SRUVIVE BUT TO DISMANTLE SOME OF MAJOR FRANCO-ERA INSTITUTIONS, SUCH

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

AS CURRENT CORTES SET-UP, GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED SPANISH SYNDICAL ORGANIZATION (SSO), AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT. HE BELIEVES PRINCE WOULD HAVE SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY AND BACKING TO ACCOMPLISH SUCH DISMANTLING IF HE CHOOSES TO ACT FORCE-FULLY, ALTHOUGH HE RECOGNIZED IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT. BUT THE PRINCE SOMEHOW HAD TO BRING SPAIN TO FREE ELECTIONS UNDER UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN WHICH THE REAL STRENGTH OF PARTIES AND FORCES COULD BE MEASURED. HE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THT AT SOME POINT THE PEOPLE WILL HAVE TO VOTE ON WHETHER THEY WANT TO RETAIN THE MONARCHY. JUAN CARLOS' FIRST MONTHS IN OFFICE WILL BE DECISIVE IN SHAPING PUBLIC OPINION ON THIS ISSUE.

7. GONZALEZ REITERATED CLASSIC PSOE POSITION THAT SOONER OR LATER SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE) CAN BE EFFECTIVELY CONTROLLED. SHOULD PSOE BE LEGALIZED BUT THE PCE REMAIN CLANDESTINE, THIS WOULD PREJUDICE PROSPECTS FOR PSOE ITSELF. WHEN ASKED WHETHER HE OR ANY OTHER PSOE MEMBER WOULD CONSIDER CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 07481 02 OF 02 261345Z

PARTICIPATING IN A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT UNDER JUAN CARLOS, GONZALEZ SAID THEY WOULD NOT, BUT HE REEMPHASIZED PSOE WOULD NOT IMPEDE ANY PROCESS OF TRUE DEMOCRATIZATION UNDER THE PRINCE. GONZALEZ ADDED POSTURE OF PCE IN INSISTING ON PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT MADE UP LARGELY OF OPPOSITION GROUPS WAS A CRAZY AND UNVIABLE PROPOSITION FOR SPAIN AT THIS TIME AND PSOE WAS AGAINST IT. AMBASSADOR WARNED OF SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR SPAIN AND FOR PSOE WHICH WOULD BE CAUSED BY GIVING COMMUNISTS A ROLE. GONZALEZ ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PSOE RECOGNIZED THE PCE AS AN ENEMY, BUT COULD NOT AT THIS STAGE REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE A PCE ROLE. THE REAL TEST HAD TO COME IN FREE ELECTIONS.

8. SPEAKING OF OTHER DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION GROUPS, GONZALEZ SAID PSOE RELATIONS WITH CHRITTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUPS (PARTICULARLY RUIZ GIMENEZ' IDC) WERE CLOSE AND HE BELIEVED CD'S WERE MORE UNITED THAN IT APPEARED (WHICH CD'S HAVE SAID TO US). HE DOUBTED WHETHER SILVA MUNOZ HIMSELF WOULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE, BUT THOUGHT A UNIFIED CD AND SOCIALISTS COULD COME TO DOMINATE A TRULY FREE POLITICAL PROCESS. HE DISMISSED THE REGIME-BACKED ASSOCIATIONS AS IRRELEVANT AND SAID THAT IF THEY EVOKED LITTLE PUBLIC INTEREST NOW, THEY WOULD HAVE EVEN LESS AFTER FRANCO.

9. EDUARDO LOPEZ, A BASQUE SOCIALIST WHO ACCOMPANIED GONZALEZ, SAID THE BASQUE PROVINCES WERE WATCHING AND WAITING TO SEE WHAT JUAN CARLOS WOULD DO. THE ETA HAS LITTLE REAL SUPPORT, AND IS LOSINGIT, BUT THE BASQUES PREFER THE ETA TO THE VERY REPRESSIVE POLICE FORCES. A NEW POLICY WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY HURT THE ETA. GONZALEZ SAID FRAP PROBABLY WOULD UNDERTAKE FURTHER TERRORIST ACTS TO CREATE SEVERE DIFFICULTIES FOR PRINCE.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

10. GONZALEZ MADE ONE POINT ABOUT U.S. GOVERNMENT AND ITS FUTURE POLICY TOWARDS SPAIN BY STATING U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD DO WELL IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE TO MAKE ITS DESIRE FOR RAPID DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION IN SPAIN KNOWN SOMEHOW THROUGH SPANISH MASS MEDIA, BECAUSE THIS IS SOMETHING THAT IS NOT KNOWN AMONG THE MASSES, MANY OF WHOM SERIOUSLY DOBUT U.S. GOVERNMENT WANTS DEMOCRACY FOR SPAIN.

1. I TOLD HIM THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD STRONG HOPES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PLURALISTIC DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 07481 02 OF 02 261345Z

IN SPAIN. I RECOGNIZED WE MIGHT HAVE IMAGE PROBLEMS, BASED ON THE REALITY THAT OUR INTERESTS REQUIRE US TO DEAL WITH GOVERNMENTS AS THEY ARE, RATHER THAN AS WE MIGHT WISH THEM. BUT WE DID SEE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HEALTHY DEMO-CRATIC SPAIN AS BEING VERY MUCH IN OUR INTERESTS. I TOLD HIM, HOWEVER, I THOUGH HE WAS CORRECT IN HIS ASSESSMENT THAT THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE LIMITATIONS ON HOW FAST JUAN CARLOS COULD PROCEED AND IT WOULD SEEM DESIRABLE FOR THOSE WHO WANT A MORE OPEN SPAIN TO BE REALISTIC ABOUT THE PACE WHICH COLD BE SET.

12. THE USUAL PERCENTAGES, WHICH MAY ESTABLISHMENT FIGURES ACCEPT, GIVE FOR SOCIALIST VOTING STRENGTH IN A FREE ELECTION ABOUT 30 PERCENT, WITH ABOUT 10 PERCENT FOR THE COMMUNISTS. THERE IS NO WAY TO TEST THIS, AND A FREE PLAY OF POLITICAL FORCES MIGH WELL PRODUCE ALTERNATIONS UP OR DOWN, BUT IN ANY EVENT WE BELIEVE THT THE PSOE, IF IT REMAINS UNITED, WILL BECOME AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE DAYS AHEAD. INDEED, MANY OF THE PLAYERS WITHIN THE OLD SYSTEM (EG., SOLIS) RECOGNIZE THAT SPAIN MUST LOOK TOWARD THE CREATION OF AN EFFECTIVE DEMOCRATIC LEFT, ALTHOUGH THEY DREAM OF SOMETHING TAMER THAN THE PSOE.
STABLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL LEADERS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 OCT 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MADRID07481
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750372-0862
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751017/aaaaapjl.tel
Line Count: 262
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27 MAY 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <28 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR MEETS WITH PSOE LEADER FELIPE GONZALEZ SUMMARY: FELIPE GONZALEZ, LEADER OF SPAIN'S BY FAR MOST
TAGS: PINT, SP, US, PSOE, (GONZALEZ, FELIPE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006